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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor: MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

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THE HINDI-URDU QUESTION

(*By Gandhiji*)

I have been connected with the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan since 1918 when I was invited to preside at its session of that year. I acquainted the audience with my views on the all-India medium. When I presided again at its session in 1935, I was able to persuade the Sammelan to define Hindi as the language spoken by Hindus and Muslims of the North of India and written either in Devanagari or Persian script. The natural consequence should have been for the members of the Sammelan to expand their knowledge of Hindi by living up to the definition and producing literature that could be read by both Hindus and Muslims. This should have meant the members learning the Persian script. They seem to have denied themselves this proud privilege. But better late than never. Will they bestir themselves now? They need not wait for the Anjuman-e-taraqqui-e-Urdu to respond. It will be a great thing, if the Anjuman does. Each association can, if it will work in harmony with the other. But I have suggested unitary action independent of the other party. That association which will adopt my plan will enrich the language it stands for, and will ultimately be responsible for producing a blend which will serve the whole nation.

It is unfortunate that the Hindi-Urdu question has assumed a communal shape. It is possible for either party to undo the mischief by recognizing the other and incorporating the acceptable part in a generous spirit. A language that borrows unstintingly from the others without harming its special characteristic will be enriched, even as the English language has become enriched by free borrowings.

(*Harijan*, 1-2-'42)

But is Urdu a language distinct from Hindi as, say, Bengali is from Marathi? Is not Urdu a direct descendant of Hindi, written in the Persian character with a tendency to borrow new words from Persian and Arabic rather than Sanskrit? If there was no estrangement between the two communities, such a phenomenon would have been welcomed. And when the animosities have died out, as they will one day, our descendants will laugh at our quarrels and will be proud of the common Hindustani speech which will be a mixture of words indifferently borrowed from many languages according to the tastes and equipment of its multitude of writers and speakers.

(*Harijan*, 8-2-'42)

USELESS EDUCATION

(*By Vinoba*)

In the Chandil Sammelan Shri Jayaprakash Narayan had advised students to leave their colleges for a year or so and join the Bhoodan work. The students then asked me as to what I thought about the matter. I told them that they could leave the college even if they had no intention to take up the Bhoodan work. The students enjoyed the reply.

It is now 37 years since I left the college and set out in search of knowledge in the world outside. One could find many other things in the college but not knowledge. The gates of knowledge were, however, thrown open as soon as I slipped out of the closed walls of the college.

And my search for knowledge continues unabated even now. I have always believed that there is nothing more sacred than knowledge. And this was why I could not bear the waste of time at the college. I have always lived in close touch with the students and have kept myself in the know of what is taught in the schools and colleges. Almost the same kind of mental food which was served in the name of education 37 years ago continues to be served even today. Then the country was under the subjection of an alien rule; now it is free and independent. Even so big a change as this has not made any notable change in the matter and in the methods of teaching in our schools.

On one side we find crores of men doing labour which is lifeless because it is unrelated to knowledge; on the other there are lakhs of students who are receiving an education which is totally insipid, because it is unrelated to work. The society has become divided into two classes: Those who announce the orders, and those who carry out the orders. Despair, poverty and misery are a-galore in the country.

Some middle class persons, at one place, complained to me about their difficulties. They said : The middle class people are in a miserable plight. The higher class people have money and those of the lower class have at least their labour to depend upon. We have neither money nor labour. Mostly there is only one earning member in the family, while there are many to be maintained. The standard of living we are used to does not accord with the income. We find it difficult to reduce the standard of living and there is absolutely no scope for raising the income to meet its requirements. Will you consider to give lands to us as you have been giving them to the poor ? I said, "I do not see any difficulty in giving lands to you. The difficulty is entirely yours. You cannot work on the farm ; how can you ask for land then ? So long as the existing system of education does not change, there can be no end to the plight of the middle class."

If one does not learn to stand the inclemencies of weather — the cold, the sun, the winds, and the rains, in one's young age when the body is growing, how can he work on the farm even though he may wish to ?

(From Hindi)

KHADI AND RURAL UNEMPLOYMENT

"Revival of Khadi offers the only solution to unemployment in rural areas" says Mr Vaikunthlal L. Mehta, former Finance Minister of Bombay and Chairman of the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board in a statement on the question of unemployment.

Mr Mehta says : "In many countries there are schemes of social security which protect all citizens against unemployment. In India when schemes of social security are devised, we think mostly in terms of industrial labour employed in large-scale industries or other large-scale enterprises. But the number of such industrial workers is relatively small, the large mass of our manual workers being engaged in the agricultural industry for whom and for whose families under-employment and partial employment are not a residual problem but a constant nightmare. To devise schemes of social security for one section of workers and not for others would be unjustifiable discrimination and would obviously be against the interests of national solidarity. To provide against unemployment in rural areas is, however, a tremendous financial undertaking, practically beyond the capacity of the Central and State Governments to undertake.

"To permit millions to remain without work, some from year's end to year's end, and some others for long periods, is wrong from the economic point of view, as also from other points of view which, however, have been excluded from consideration for our present purpose. To allow these large numbers to subsist on doles, even if that were feasible — which is far from being the case — would be anti-social. The revival of Khadi offers, as Mahatma Gandhi claimed, the only solution.

Handloom Cloth

"Although the bulk of the employment that will be provided through the extension of Khadi production will be for hand-spinners, most of whom may be part-time workers, the fact should not be overlooked that, in addition, there is quite a large number of other artisans who are full-time workers, such, for instance, as carders and weavers.

"The handloom weaving industry suffers from a chronic shortage of supply of yarn and the capacity for production that is available lies idle. Weavers seldom get a full month's work. The effect of increased production of hand-spun yarn will be to provide additional full-time employment to handloom weavers and other artisans as well."

Pleading for State protection to Khadi, Mr Mehta says : "It may be that the wide disparity in price levels that exists today may get lessened and the industry may get reorganized on a basis that enables it efficiently to perform the economic function assigned to it in the national plan. The lasting quality of Khadi of standard varieties, is not inferior to that of corresponding mill-made cloth, nevertheless, attempts will be made by the Khadi and Village Industries Board to raise the standard of production. Increase of production may help in lowering costs and some reduction may also be brought about through improvements effected in purchasing cotton and in organizing facilities for marketing. But the main factor leading to lower costs will be the use of improved techniques, the introduction of more efficient tools and implements and the pursuit of better methods of production. It is to this aspect of the work that Mahatma Gandhi wished the All-India Spinners' Association to devote itself almost exclusively and it is this aspect again which will engage the attention of the Board even in the early stages of its career.

"The main economic justification that needs to be emphasized is the one which has led the Planning Commission, at various places in its report, to recognize the indispensability of village industries in the national economy. It accords to these a central place in the programme of rural development, the same as for the reorganization of agricultural production. The various village industries are deemed by the Commission to be an essential feature of rural reconstruction, first because they provide for the production of consumers' goods without the outlay of capital expenditure on any considerable scale and secondly, because they provide employment in a rural setting to surplus or partially employed labour on the land.

"Governments, Central and State, and individuals can render aid by extending patronage to the products of these cottage industries, even at some sacrifice."

(From *The Hindu*, 21-7-'53)

WHAT OF INDIA'S HOME POLICY ?

(By Wilfred Wellock)

It may interest Indian readers to learn how a Westerner views India today and the part she is playing in world affairs, also the part which she could and may play in the future.

What most Indians may not realize is the role her statesmen are playing in world politics, the strangeness of their ideas against the background of Western power politics, and the challenge these ideas are offering.

A few days ago, Mr Nehru, replying to a question on Korea at a Press Conference, gave the simple answer that every problem was capable of a peaceful solution. In that answer we have the resurgence of Gandhi in Nehru, and it is constantly happening. But it cuts across the policy and the official mind of the U. S. A. ; e.g., where the belief is strong that there can be no compromise between the American and the Russian way of life, and thus that there is no alternative to a war policy, cold or hot, until communism is wiped out or Russia is subdued.

The utmost the U. S. A. hopes for is a successful cold war, yet that cold war is already threatening many Western Powers with bankruptcy and complete dependence upon the U.S.A.

And now your Vice-President, Dr Radhakrishnan, who is touring America, is pouring out the Gandhian philosophy in generous doses on all manner of public occasions. His farewell broadcast talk to the Canadian people the other day contained some sound but unfamiliar doctrine. Here are some excerpts :

"Wise and patient political action directed towards the minds of men is what we should aim at and not military victory in another war.....

"We have no faith in power politics. War solves no problems, but creates more problems. We believe in peace politics and in peace based on justice. War is not an evil means to a good end. It is evil by itself. It baffles both victors and vanquished. The proper aim of political action is not to destroy our enemies but to educate them, to influence their attitudes and behaviour.....

"What we want today is not the American way, nor the Russian way, but the human way.....Science has given us the possibility of removing hunger and poverty from the face of the earth. If we establish prosperity effectively in the non-communist world, the prospects of peace will improve.

"There is a world revolution in progress, and it is utterly independent of communism. Hungry, diseased and despised inhabitants who form the bulk of the non-communist world demand economic progress and development.....

"Having been ourselves victims of political and economic exploitation, we sympathize with people who are struggling to emancipate themselves from bondage.....

"If we find that the great Powers who have leadership in the United Nations compromise with the ideals of the Charter, confuse stability with the maintenance of present conditions, and have a vested interest in the *status quo*, we feel unhappy.....Power corrupts, but conscience redeems. We must crusade for the divine in us rather than against the demon in others....."

There are thousands in the West who would endorse all the above statements. What makes them so striking is that they were uttered by a highly official of a State that is looming large on the world's political horizon. No responsible Western statesman would have spoken thus. Yet they point the way, and the only way out of the impasse of power in which the United Nations now flounder. Much more of this emphasis from India may yet pave the way to salvation from the threat of the third world war.

But what of India's home policy ? In India's present crisis it is important to remember that in the long run a nation's foreign policy is determined by its home policy. The power politics of the West sprang from their aggressive economic policy, their desire to monopolize the world's markets and the earth's resources. Today, the upsurge now manifest throughout the East and the entire coloured world is striking the death-blow to Western aggressive, economic policies and demanding the evolution of a human economy.

As I see India today she is halting between two courses, two economic systems, and, make no mistake, two entirely different ways of life — the Western economy and way of life, and the Gandhian economy and way of life. If she takes the Western way she will end as the Western Powers are now doing in the impasse of a devastating militarism, and fear of a major economic breakdown, ideological conflict and a continent-shattering war.

What is to be her choice ?

If India takes whole-heartedly the Gandhian way, then I believe that in due course she will become the spiritual leader of the nations and also the economic leader....

Both our Western civilization and your Eastern civilization are sick, and bogged in their different ways, and we now discover that the cure of both is much the same. Our common need is a human, not an aggressive or power economy, a system which develops the whole man and co-operative, neighbourly communities, which seeks to make not wealth only, but men and women, whole men and women. Life is more than bread, and prosperity more than the achievement of abundance ; it is creative self-expression, neighbourliness, material sufficiency but without the luxury which kills both body and spirit. The Western economy repudiates all these fine values in the interest of profit and abundance. It creates mountains of soulless commodities and repudiates the human soul in the mechanization of man by which he is transformed into a robot. Ours is thus a great common cause, and mankind will either espouse it or perish.

(Adapted from the *Sarvodaya*, Tirupur, July, '53)

HARIJAN

Aug. 8 1953

WE ARE ALL ONE

(*By Maganbhai P. Desai*)

Dr. Babu Ram Saxena, President of the U. P. Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, has issued a statement against recognizing Urdu in U. P., (*vide The Leader*, 26-7-'53), in which he refers to me in words I reproduce hereafter below. That is because, according to him, I committed the mistake of writing about Hindi-Urdu controversy which is at present going on in U. P., in the way I did in my article, 'A Deplorable Decision', in the issue of 18-7-'53 of the *Harijan*. Really speaking, what I said in it is no way a new thing to the readers of the *Harijan*. Gandhiji always said that thing in its essence in this paper. I only told it as it applied to the present situation. It may be I may err therein; if so, I might be corrected. But Dr. Saxena does nothing of the kind.

It is apparent that Dr. Saxena did not like my article. He will excuse me if I say that it does not surprise me. Because, the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan has not liked what Gandhiji said regarding Hindi and Urdu vis-a-vis the national language. It was therefore that he had to leave that institution and start a new organization for putting before the country and propagating the true idea about the language problem.

However, it was hoped that the Sammelan would accept the happy formula that the Constitution of India evolved about the language question. But that was not to be and the Sammelan stuck to its old policy and continued to propagate it through its Wardha Samiti. The Government of Bombay took note of this and did not recognize it. If at all any more proof is necessary to vindicate the truth of this step of the Bombay Government, the statement of Dr. Saxena amply gives it.

He refers to me in his statement as follows:

> "People who do not belong to Northern India and have not suffered from the consequences of this controversy, have a very different appreciation of the actual state of affairs. Shri Maganbhai P. Desai, editor of the *Harijan* weeklies, belongs to this class....Workers like Shri Desai never suffered from summonses from law courts or from reports from the Police Stations, written in a script and couched in a vocabulary which were unintelligible to the people at large."

It is true I am not a Northerner. But I know that a summons or a police report in any language or script, for the matter of that, cannot be read by more than 80 per cent of our people, and of the remaining, those in U. P. who know Nagari cannot read Urdu and vice versa. And hence lakhs of them in U. P. learn both the scripts and Gandhiji told us that this was good for our people.

And it is not right to say that only the North suffered from the Urdu-Hindi controversy. This burning communal question of the U. P. (of which the language controversy is a part) has affected the whole country. To solve it Gandhiji tried his very best even in the field of language since 1918; I have played my humble little part in it; therefore I know what suffering it involves. It is a great misfortune for our country that the question is not laid at rest in U. P. still.

And do we not know what the country had to suffer for not realizing betimes the truth of those efforts of Gandhiji? Are we to continue to have communal tensions still? The right thing for us is to relieve them and see that the old trouble does not occur again. I appeal to the lovers of Hindi like Dr. Saxena to ponder over this.

And what a thing it is for Dr. Saxena to remind me, on the question of the national language, that I do not belong to North India? If he has read the resolution which was passed by the Indian Languages Development Conference, Poona, (*Harijan*, 27-6-'53), he must have seen that it said:

> "The development of the Official Language of the Union, in accordance with the Directives of the Constitution, is the *common concern of the speakers of all Indian languages*....................These efforts will conform to the genius of the parent stock...."

If Shri Saxena so desires, he might well have the U. P. style of Hindi as its regional language. But then, in a similar manner, Shri Saxena should admit that the other style of Hindi, viz. Urdu has also that right. And as this involves the good of the development of the national language, people outside North India also are interested in it.

And why is Urdu enumerated as distinct from Hindi in the 8th Schedule of the Constitution? What is it due to? We should understand its meaning and significance also.

Again, if script and vocabulary constitute the only distinction between Hindi and Urdu, how does this constitute such a big thing, as to warrant any one to say that Urdu imposes a foreign culture? We know from the development of English that for the enrichment of a language words may well be taken from the whole world. None may say that Hindi should not enrich itself similarly. Rather, Hindi has this catholicity not merely for the vocabulary but also for the whole of our life and culture. It teaches us:

कोअी नहीं है ग़ैर बाबा ।
कोअी नहीं है ग़ैर ॥

(None on earth is an alien to us, oh brother.)

ना कोअी बैरी नाहिं बिगाना ।
सकल संगि हमको बनि आअी ॥

(None is an enemy nor an alien; all are one with us.)

How can North India forget this message of our great culture and its heritage? I appeal to friends like Dr. Saxena to remember this great culture; we are all its children with that great heritage to conserve and cherish.

3-8-'53

(From the original in Gujarati)

BONUS OR PARTNERSHIP ?

(*By Maganbhai P. Desai*)

The following is quoted from the letter of a friend who has made a deep study of the problems connected with labour and industry and who has also been working in this field over a pretty long period :

"In some factories, specially in oil and petroleum companies, the workers receive very good wages. In addition they are also paid bonus which may in some cases be as high as the equivalent of six months' wages. These companies which pay comparatively good wages to their workers make very good profits. That is why they are able to pay six months' wages as bonus. This keeps both the employers and employees well satisfied — the employers because they are earning good profits and the workers because they receive quite a sizable bonus. But eventually the burden of both the profits and bonus has to be borne by the consumers. I had therefore suggested that the companies making large profits should be asked to bring down the prices of their products.

"The same has happened in regard to the textile mills. The bonus to be paid to the workers is taken into account while calculating the prices of the cloth and is safely collected back from the purchasing public. Here also both the employers and the employees profit at the cost of the people.

"Many other examples of this injustice to the purchasing public can be pointed out. It is clear that it is very improper of the factory-owners and workers to join together in this way and promote their selfish interests at the expense of the general public, and hence my suggestion to bring down the prices of the products of such industries.

"I have always urged this consideration on labour courts whenever I have appeared in such cases on behalf of the workers. I have often expressed the view that instead of the factory-owners earning indiscriminately high profits and granting bonus to the workers, it would be far more desirable, in the interests of national economy, that they be asked to bring down prices.

"It is a pity that nobody has paid any serious attention to this suggestion. I do not think if Labour Unions, their workers, and labour ministers will or can accept this clearly fair proposition and try to bring it into operation."

The readers will see that the correspondent has raised a very important and in some respects a very difficult question. I do not know what the experts of Labour Law will say about it, but to me it appears that bonus is essentially a gratuity paid to the workers willingly and voluntarily by the owners when they balance their account at the end of the year. It is obvious that such payment depends upon the profit made by the industry. But there must be a limit to the profit. It should never be so big as to enable the employers to grant six months' wages as bonus. It might be pointed out here that the workers get extremely low wages and bonus does no more than supplement them to a certain extent. Why should it then be paid in the form of bonus as though it were a generous gift by the employers to their workers ? It had better be included in the wages. The Labour Unions in that case should ask the workers to accept the amount in the form of corresponding increment in their wages instead of as bonus.

If, however, it is argued that the payment of bonus is aimed at sharing the profits, i.e. if it is paid to the workers out of net profits, after deductions for adequate wages and other due expenses, then why should we not bring down the prices as the correspondent rightly suggests ? Because we should not forget that the consumers are also a necessary part in production. If the owners and the workers neglect the interests of the consumers, then they become accomplices engaged in exploiting the consumers. In America they have gone a step further still ; there they are experimenting with profit-sharing in the industries. The profits of an industry are shared with the workers. And there are proposals that the same should be introduced here also. Needless to say, this will prove deadlier still to the consumers.

In reality, therefore, both the payment of bonus and profit-sharing, are fundamentally wrong from the point of view of the interest of the society taken as a whole. Instead of bonus, as I have suggested in an earlier article, (*Harijan*, July 11, 1953 'Absentee Share-Holding') the workers should demand shares, so that eventually there will be no absentee share-holders, and all the shares will have been gradually transferred to the workers and there will be no one earning dividends without putting in some sort of active work, in the industry, skilled or unskilled, managerial or clerical. Such a process will certainly take time to fructify, because it means ousting of those share-holders who do not take any active part in the industry except earning dividends, and this cannot be done at once. However there is no reason why a beginning in this direction should not be made at once — for which either new shares may be issued or those who hold a very large number of them may be asked to part with some in favour of the workers.

This will gradually bring the ownership of the industry into the hands of workers and induce the workers to work co-operatively. It will cut at the root of such evils as resort to strikes, dawdling, lack of interest etc. The industry will then work on the basis of willing and co-operative endeavour by all concerned. It will create the necessary conditions for operating our industry on the 'no loss no profit' principle which is accepted as the ideal of a just and equitable society. This makes it clear that the warning in regard to the policy of grant of bonus is worthy of attention and the labour unions as well as the State and the society should give immediate and serious consideration to the issue it raises.

The letter quoted above expresses the fear that the labour unions are not likely to take kindly to the advice tendered here. It is really difficult to forgo what appears to be a concrete gain and to stand up for truth and justice. Let us hope, however, that the labour unions and their leaders will take up the challenge and prove that the misgivings are unfounded.

23-7-'53

(From the original in Gujarati)

THE U. P. LANGUAGE CONTROVERSY

(*By Maganbhai P. Desai*)

Last month Pandit Nehru spent about a couple of days in his home province. In the course of his stay there, he spoke on various topics of the day. The language controversy was one of them. He spoke twice on the matter. The report of what he said about it is reproduced below from the issue of 19-7-'53 of the *National Herald*, Lucknow :

Addressing a public meeting at the Kayastha Pathshala ground, Allahabad, on July 18, Pandit Nehru said that there were many people who failed to understand the real implications of freedom and would like to take the country back to where it was in the past. In this connection he referred to the language problem and said it was not fair to try to suppress the culture and language of any group of people. Urdu, he said, was not the language of Pakistan and any attempt to belittle it would not redound to their credit.

The language of a country, Pandit Nehru continued, stored within itself the cultural heritage of that land. In India, they had decided to make Hindi a strong language as befitting the status of a national language. But they should give equal opportunities of growth to other State languages which, like the Bengali, were rich in literature. The growth of a language, he remarked, could not be regulated by legislation but needed constant fostering as that of an infant seedling.

Addressing the Congress workers at Anand Bhavan, Allahabad, on the same day, he said :

" Ours is a vast country with numerous States, different languages, and different ways and means of living. Unless we have forbearance and tolerance for one another, we will totter. We must not try to impose on others our will in social matters or in matters of languages."

He added : " There is no question of Urdu competing with Hindi. All the same there can be no question either of suppressing Urdu or its growth in any matter. As a matter of fact, we have to enrich every language along with Hindi, and every encouragement should be given, so that Urdu may flourish."

The *National Herald* took note of this in its editorial columns and remarked as follows :

" An important matter on which the Congress President spoke at some length was the position of Urdu, a mild controversy over which has been raging fitfully in this part of the country. Before the controversy takes forms which are not desirable, it would be wise on the part of both those who love Hindi and those who love Urdu to study the question keeping in mind the points which the Congress President stressed.

" The first point is that there should be no question of any other language disputing the position of Hindi as the national language, in the sense that it will be the language of the Union and will command country-wide allegiance. The content of this Hindi need not be discussed here, for there is not enough output yet to discuss it.

" The second point is that where several people follow and speak a language which has been included among the recognized languages in the Constitution, certain facilities should be provided for them in whatever language area they may live.

" The third point is that the claims of Urdu in a State like U. P. cannot be summarily dismissed and that it has also a place, in respect of language and of script, in the Indian people's relations with the people of other countries, particularly of the Middle East.

" If the matter is discussed in the light of these points, it may lead to useful results. So far the State Government have not cared to answer the complaint repeatedly made about displacement or withdrawal of facilities for teaching of Urdu in schools, and it is strange that a complaint of this kind should remain unanswered for so long a time. An Urdu Conference is to meet shortly and its objective seems to be moderate. It has to be seen what the exact demands will be. Apart from the confusion which has arisen through loose use of the phrases, " State language " and " regional language ", the question demands a rational approach, and Congressmen should be able to give a correct lead having heard the Congress President's views."

The chief point made by the above editorial remarks is that Hindi as the national language is unique ; as Panditji said, there is no question of Urdu or any other Indian language competing with it. But there is another Hindi also, as is mentioned in the 8th Schedule of the Constitution of India. Urdu, Bengali, Oriya etc. are enumerated there. None, including the Hindi mentioned there, can compete with the official language of the Union, though it is named Hindi in Article 343. Nor should these scheduled Indian languages compete among themselves. While they should all prosper and progress in their own right, they should also co-operate and contribute to secure the development and enrichment of Hindi, the official language of the Union. But it must not be forgotten that the part cannot assume to be the whole, which appears to be the cause of much confusion and misunderstanding in the U. P. language controversy. I have noted that my last article, ' A Deplorable Decision ' (*Harijan*, 18-7-'53, p. 157) has occasioned some severe comments in some quarters, which is not surprising. I do not want here to consider them, and only suggest that much of that is also due to improper assessment of the position of Hindi, the official language of the Union, vis-a-vis the fourteen scheduled Indian languages in general and Hindi and Urdu in particular.

29-7-'53

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THE WHITE MAU MAU

[The following is from the pen of Shri Reginald Reynolds, *Peace News* Correspondent in Africa, appearing in the *Peace News*, the International Pacific Weekly, of London, June 26, 1953. We in India know him as the young Englishman who loved human freedom and peace and who went to deliver Gandhiji's famous letter to the Viceroy in 1930.

25-7-'53 —M. P.]

Official figures can sometimes be interesting. I invite your attention to the following statistics from the *Tanganyika Standard* (April 25) and the *Central African Post of Lusaka* (June 12). Both are European papers. They give the casualties in the Kenya disturbances from the declaration of the "State of Emergency" in October '52:

Killed by Mau Mau

	Up to April 23 "according to official records"	Up to June 3 "Latest official figures"
Africans	450	411
Europeans	10	17
Asians	4	4
Killed by forces in anti-Mau Mau operations		
Africans	595	848

While the number of Asians killed by Mau Mau has remained static, seven more Europeans were killed between April 23 and June 3; but in that same period 39 Africans were apparently brought to life again, so that the total killed by Mau Mau during those five weeks must have been a minus quantity of 32.

From such unreliable statistics it is difficult to draw conclusions; but both murder budgets indicate the same general and agreed conclusions:

1. The number of Africans said to have been killed by Mau Mau vastly exceeds the number of European victims;

2. The number of Africans killed by the forces of law and order admittedly exceeds—apparently on an increasing scale—the number of African casualties debited to Mau Mau.

It is a cliche common among Europeans in Africa that the African has, at best, only a 'veneer' of civilization: under that lurks the savage. I am not in a position to argue about that; but I think it is probably true. I can believe it because I know it is true of us all. What else is modern war but the savagery that lurks beneath our veneer of civilization—and breaks through?

It is not a question of blaming and accusing; it is a question of understanding and facing something.

To understand Mau Mau you have to know something of the history of the country; you have to be able to feel what it is like to be an African, treated as an inferior in your own country, confined to the smallest of inadequate small-holdings while one European is granted thousands of acres.

I am not concerned here with the arguments advanced to justify this state of affairs; I am only concerned at the moment with the way you or I would look at it—or an African.

Now turn to the European settler. He firmly believes in his superiority. His great interests, too, are at stake. Both are challenged. It is war—ruthless, like all wars today, sparing none.

He feels as some people felt in Britain— and in Germany—when they looked at the murder done by bombs. He is not likely to remain a reasonable person. If you doubt that, read the letters which many Europeans write to Kenya papers or listen to casual conversations. Hatred, fear, self-interest, and the desire for revenge are the worst enemies of reason.

Some months ago old Colonel Grogan said in the Legislative Council that the Government should "take a hundred of the rascals," hang some of them in front of the others and send the survivors home to their villages. It was an open declaration of a counter-terror policy.

"Make no mistake," said one European to me, "Grogan says what others think but don't say in 'Legco'. Don't think Grogan is just a joke."

And the evidence is piling up that Grogan's policy is being unofficially implemented, especially by the Kenya Police Reserve (KPR). European settlers and settlers' sons, with arms and a very free hand to use them, they are the object of more terror today than the Mau Mau itself. The terror is called "The White Mau Mau" by many Africans.

Under the shadow of this double terror it is hard to get the truth about anything in the Kikuyu country. I was frequently warned of the danger I could bring to Kikuyus by meeting them openly. When through the help of friends, I eventually did meet them, I heard innumerable stories of police brutality.

The local police superintendent, a "regular" is generally (but not always) exonerated. But he cannot be everywhere at once. Patrols of KPR men go and come. They regard as an enemy any Kikuyu known to be a supporter of the Kenya African Union—now banned after the failure to kill it by arresting its leaders.

For an African even to be educated is to be suspect. "Why," asked one Kikuyu pointedly "is it nearly always the *educated* Africans who fail to bolt when challenged by a patrol and are shot dead?" *Shot dead,* notice: the marksmanship of the KPR is suspiciously accurate.

There are lawyers who have details of many unpleasant cases—alleged murders and beatings on the Black and Tan model. The massive files are impressive; but nobody imagines they represent more than a small fraction of the total.

A man who has been illegally flogged by the representatives of law and order will think twice before he risks a repetition (or something worse) by complaining. A dead man will tell no tales and his relatives may fear to share his fate. If only one-tenth of the allegations should turn out to be true, the case against the Government would be a heavy one—and from my reading of the affidavits I should say there is more fire than that in the smoke.

(Adapted from the *Peace News*, June 26, '53)

NOTES

Was It Unavoidable?

The U. S. Congress is expected to give quick approval to a plan proposed by President Eisenhower to begin post-armistice rehabilitation of Korea with part of the funds appropriated earlier for combat needs there. He suggested that an initial sum of $ 200 million be made available from the 1,200 million it would cost the United States to participate in the war for another year.

The situation confronting the people of Korea was described by him in these words in his message to the American Congress:

> "The extent of devastation suffered by the people and the economy of Korea is staggering. Since the outbreak of war in 1950, one million South Koreans have been killed. More than two and one half million have become homeless refugees. Five million depend in whole or in part upon relief to stay alive. Property destruction exceed $ 1,000 million. This colossal economic disaster...."

A United Nations official in New York described the Korean situation in greater detail and said:

> "The fields and paddies, the mines and factories, which were once the source of livelihood for the people, have suffered substantial damage and destruction. The entire economy is threatened by inflation and the average Korean is reduced to dire poverty.

"Civilian battle casualties alone have run to hundreds of thousands. Millions have been uprooted from their homes. Untold numbers of children have been orphaned. Families have been decimated and dispersed.

"Approximately 9,00,000 houses are required to meet present needs in the Republic of Korea. Some 4,00,000 homes have been completely destroyed and must be replaced. Others are needed to accommodate refugees from North Korea.

"The education system, medical and social welfare services, including institutions for the care of orphans and the aged, all need rehabilitation. There is a major problem in the resettlement of the refugees and the rehabilitation of the tens of thousands who have been maimed. Further, the Government itself needs to be rehoused."

It is good to learn that Korea laid prostrate by war wounds is being revived with dollar injections of life-giving oxygen. The deeper question however is why should we need to lay anybody prostrate in such a cruel and inhuman manner? Why inflict wounds on innocent humanity and then require oneself to go to bind them? Is it not a silly thing to do really? Was it surely unavoidable?

30-7-'53 M. P.

A Simple Question

Major John Eisenhower, son of President Eisenhower, has been serving in Korea since July 1952. Like any father whose son was serving in the fight in Korea, President Eisenhower was greatly relieved — and happy — when official word of the armistice signing came and he said: "The truce has been signed.... hope my son is going to come home soon."

Surely every father and mother, brother and sister and all will feel happy over the return home of their beloved relative. But they only ask, why at all should our relative be required to go away from us and kill somebody else's relative — dear son, brother, sister or husband etc. and perhaps get killed in that indefensible affair? It is fathers like President Eisenhower and others like him who rule the destinies of millions of fellow-men that have to answer this simple question of aggrieved humanity.

30-7-'53 M. P.

The Noxious Weed

The following is taken from a letter to the editor of the *New Statesman and Nation* of May 16, 1953 (pp. 580-1) from Horace Joules of Central Middlesex Hospital.

'I smoked 35 cigarettes daily until evidence accumulated that this was an extremely harmful habit.

'....As Professor Bradford Hill and Dr Richard Doll have stated, the risk of acquiring cancer of the lung is proportionate to the number of cigarettes smoked. All scientific evidence.... confirms this view. It is one of the most important facts which have come to light concerning cancer during this century....

'The situation in relation to tobacco is complicated by many factors, but two main items are the huge profits made by the manufacturers associated with advertising revenue of the press and....the £620,000,000 annual revenue collected by the treasury.

'All young people should know....that heavy smoking over a minimum of 25 years has resulted in men and women dying in increasing number. Last year over 14,000 people died from this disease. In the area around this hospital twice as many people are now dying from cancer of the lung as from tuberculosis....

'Nobody has claimed that all cases of cancer of the lung are due to smoking....However well over 80 per cent of all lung cancer is related to nothing other than heavy smoking....By 1965, approximately 25,000 people will die from this untreatable condition.'

V. G. D.

Khadi Board Declares Subsidies

The All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board has declared subsidies on sales of Khadi, implements for Khadi-production, weaving charges of *Vastraswavalamban* Khadi, and management expenses to recognized institutions in the following manner:

1. Subsidy of 3 annas in the rupee for sales of Khadi;
2. Five annas per square yard or fifty per cent (whichever is less) of weaving charges per square yard of *Vastraswavalamban* Khadi;
3. Two annas subsidy per square yard of Khadi woven by recognized institutions for management of *Vastraswavalamban* Scheme;
4. 6¼ per cent subsidy will be given to recognized institutions on production and also retail sales up to a limit of Rs 2,000/- each;
5. Concession of Rs 15/- per Dhunai Modia (a new type of carding machine costing about Rs 35/- to Rs 40/-) of the approved type;
6. Two rupees and eight annas subsidy on each Charkha of any pattern (excepting that of Bamboo);
7. Subsidy of Rs 50/- per loom, complete with its accessories.

Subsidies for items 5, 6 and 7 will be allowed on those implements which are manufactured by certified workshops. Recognized Centres and *Bhandars* are authorized to sell to customers the implements after allowing for the concession which will be reimbursed to them after scrutiny of their duplicate bills and fortnightly sales reports.

The subsidies are to be given forthwith.

V. P. SABNIS,
Office Secretary, A.I.K.V.I.B.

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